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# HOW SHALL WE VOTE?

It is to quiet citizens that I address myself—not to professed politicians, nor to crowded meetings, nor excited assemblies—but to those patriotic and more silent citizens who seek for no office, but desire to vote in such manner as best to secure the characteristic blessings of our Government. I do not propose to argue the great questions of public policy now before us. The time for argument is mostly passed, and the time for reflection and decision has arrived. I propose only to briefly state the case.

All parties agree that this is the most important Presidential election which we have ever held. The character of our institutions forever seems to depend upon it. The great question is: Shall Slavery be extended by law into the Free Territories of the United States, and be fortified and made impregnable—an eternal characteristic of our Republic? There are the somewhat local questions—the Buchanan Ostend Circular—the robbing of a friendly nation of her territories in time of peace—and the question of a free public highway across the continent, through our own free territory—the Pacific railroad. These are only branches of the other question. The forcible seizure and annexation of Cuba is but a measure to fortify Slavery, by adding new slave territory to the United States. Let it be established that Cuba must come into the Union as free territory, and the gentlemen who met at Ostend would throw up their hands in pious horror at the proposition to steal the queen of the Antilles. And let Slavery be established throughout the Territories of the Northwest, so that trains of caged or chained slaves (cattle trains) may be sent as merchandise across the continent, and the South will have no constitutional scruples against the Pacific Railroad.

The question is the great question of "the liberties of America," as the phrase was in 1776, and this is the only question. One great portion of the people believes that Slavery is a moral, political and social evil, existing in some of the States by their own laws, and that whether it be or not necessary to their present industrial and social position, it is a question for those States alone; but that its character and effect upon the morals, the manners, the

reputation and the prosperity of all States where it has existed without necessity, demonstrates that it ought never to be extended to our now Free Territories.

Another powerful portion of the people—the Southern people—believe that Slavery is a blessing to every community—that it is the natural relation between capital and labor—between employer and employed; that the Slave-trade ought to be renewed, and that Slavery ought to be extended throughout the United States and all her Territories.

The present excitement is the conflict of these two opinions. It is not a question whether it be lawful to hold slaves in those States where Slavery now exists, nor whether those slaves be well or ill-treated—sympathy for the slave has nothing to do with it. The slave himself is outside of the discussion. He is in the keeping of States and laws to which the Northern people are not a party and for which they are not responsible. They did not make those laws and they cannot repeal them. It is the free and not the slave, the white, not the black, whose interests are the subject of discussion.

So, too, it is not with the Southern States or their institutions that we have to do. Virginia and South Carolina, and the other Southern States, are outside of the discussion. We look only to that immense unsettled territory where there is now no Slavery, and which, thirty-five years ago, was dedicated by law to Freedom by the consent of the people, and not of any particular State, and for which every American citizen is responsible. Shall that territory be blessed with civil and religious liberty and Republican mutuality—shall it be the land of Freedom or of Slavery? The territories are larger than any ten States of the Union, and are to be inhabited by millions of people.

I do not regret that what is called a sectional issue has been forced upon us in this canvass. I see the finger of God in it. I hail it as the harbinger of a better day. It is presented to us under peculiar circumstances. Heretofore this great question of Freedom and Slavery has been left to the politicians, to party arrangements, personal trading and unworthy bargains and compromises. It has been the political makeweight of corrupt men and selfish place-hunters, and how Freedom has sped under it we all know. We have gone from bad to worse, till the General Government cannot protect its own legislators from being beaten by bludgeons in the streets, in the public conveyances, and in the Senate chamber,

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for expressing sympathy for Freedom. Devout women are imprisoned for teaching human beings to read the blessed Word of God. American citizens are driven from their farms, their stores, their business and their families, and compelled to fly by night to the Free States to escape lynching, tar and feathers and assassination, because they belong to the political party that is opposed to the extension of Slavery. The great truths of the Declaration of Independence, for which our fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, are called glittering generalities, intolerable and hateful; and Kansas, a Northern Territory, is made the scene of oppressions and cruelties, by the side of which the wrongs of the Colonies before the Revolution are nothing—all the wrongs of twelve years before the Revolution, in all the Colonies, bear no comparison with those that have been perpetrated in Kansas during the last twelve months, for the purpose of extending Slavery, at the point of the bayonet, over territories of immense extent, solemnly consecrated to Freedom by the nation by public statute in 1820.

In 1820 a law was passed that there should be no Slavery in the Territories now north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  N. latitude.

What a contest there was then! Those of us who remember it see more freshly than it is recorded in history, with what desperation Slavery was forced across the Mississippi! In 1836 with what blasphemous defiance the right of petition was trodden under foot and the sanctity and freedom of the public mails attacked! In 1850 what a strife, but how ineffectual, to resist the new fetters for Freedom! In 1854 how the solemn and sacred compact of 1820 was dishonorably rescinded! and how now our brothers' blood cries unto God from the ground in Kansas! Kansas is entirely north of  $37^{\circ}$ . Its climate is like that of Ohio, Illinois, and Kentucky, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. The capitals of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and the City of Philadelphia, are all further south than the Northern boundary of Kansas. That boundary extended would run nearly through the middle of New-Jersey. If Slavery be necessary to the burning heats of equatorial climates, if it be necessary to cotton fields and rice swamps and sugar plantations, it is not necessary to Kansas. There is not the apology of climate or productions to place slaves there or to exclude the thrift and prosperity of Free Labor, small farms, various productions, and small happy homesteads scattered all over the land. Slavery is pressed upon Kansas only that thereby the whole North may be fatally enslaved, and that as now in Delaware one of her Senators declares to his constituents in relation to something against Slavery said by a Northern Senator, "Had he said it in my presence I would have beaten him to a jelly;" as in Maryland citizens, eaceably assembled for mere political consultation, are compelled to flee for fear of assassination; as in Virginia, for the mere expression of opinion unfriendly to Slavery, citizens are

compelled to flee to the Free States because they belong to the party that is opposed to the extension of Slavery; as at the seat of the Federal Government, (the place set apart for free discussion,) for the mere discussion of questions of public policy, editors and members of Congress from the Free States are beaten down from behind and nearly murdered, so hereafter it shall be in the hitherto Free North.

All along it has been flung in our face that the triumphs of Slavery have been accomplished by Northern votes, and so they have been. But who would be willing to have his name stand opposite these votes? Those traitors to Freedom will be forgotten when their names shall cease to be a stench in the nostrils of the friends of Liberty, and not before!

We have been thus defeated because the voice of the people has not been taken. Now, God in his Providence has smitten the politicians with judicial blindness and madness, and has said practically to every individual American, in his sovereign capacity, Stand up and say this day whom ye will serve. If the Lord be God, follow him, and if Baal be God, follow him. If you desire Freedom, say so—if you prefer Slavery, say so. Be ready to answer. God is calling the Ayes and Noes on this question to put every man on record upon it. Is there one friend of Freedom that does not rejoice in the opportunity to ascertain the extent of modern degeneracy?

Party associations and sympathies have heretofore hindered us in the expression of our real sentiments—now Divine Providence has delivered us all from such compulsion. Party lines are obliterated and party discipline has lost its force. Parties are really broken up. There is no party allegiance that compels any citizen to vote for any one of the candidates. Col. FREMONT is a Democrat from his boyhood of the school of JEFFERSON and JACKSON. Mr. BUCHANAN is of the routed party and the exploded principles of CALHOUN and McDUFFIE, who arrayed the State of South Carolina against the Government, in open civil war and rebellion, twenty-five years ago. Mr. FILLMORE is not a Whig—he belongs to no party. The Whig Party has no candidates nor organization. Its great leaders bore a barren sceptre. They are dead, no son of theirs succeeding. The Democratic Party, broken to pieces half-a-dozen times in as many years, has no leaders that the party can follow without forswearing all their principles. With such an opportunity, who would not yield to the temptation to follow the dictates of his own conscience?

As it is the first opportunity, so it may be the last.

All these aggressions by the South have been resisted. We have never consented to them, but we have been subdued, and we have yielded much that we might save something. We have been subdued in return for forbearance and liberality. We have

never failed to treat our Southern brethren with more than a generous share of our consideration.

When the Constitution was formed a ratio of representation was consented to by which now the North has but one member of the House of Representatives for every 20,706 white males over 21 years of age, (and these are the people in all the States,) while the South has one for every 12,108—nearly twice their just proportion; and in the Senate the North has one Senator for every 113,855, while the South has one for every 48,424—a great deal more than twice their proportion. Taken altogether, the representation of Southern voters in Congress is more than twice as great as their equal proportion—an inequality and injustice which nothing but a spirit of conciliation could make tolerable to the North. This first great advantage to the South has been never disturbed, and is of itself enough to account for all the victories of the South.

We also gave them the seat of Government in the Slave States, surrounded on all sides by Pro-Slavery influences—another immense advantage.

If a Northern man would recover his laboring animals found in a Slave State, he can recover them only by an appeal to the Courts in that State and to the verdict of her juries. He must take the law's delay at his own expense—but let a slaveholder claim that a black man (his laboring animal) has escaped into a Free State, and the slaveholder seizes the alleged fugitive, by the hair and the throat—tears him from his family and property—drags him before a single individual who is hired by double fees to decree him to be a slave without Judge or Jury, and the General Government pays the expense of transporting him in chains to Slavery. What an inequality of privilege in favor of Slavery the North allows to the South!

And relying upon the good faith and honor of the South, when Territories north of the Missouri Compromise line should be ready, we have consented to the admission of the States south of that line, but when our turn came southern honor has failed us and the restriction is repealed.

As the natural result of these inequalities, a vast majority of the officers of the General Government in the army and the navy and the civil service are given to the South.

And so of the highest honors—of the twelve Presidents of the United States, chosen by the people, all but three have been of southern birth. Out of sixty-eight years the Government has been twenty years only in the hands of Northern Presidents, and forty-eight in the hands of Southern Presidents; and for thirty years past all the candidates of the party uniformly opposed to the extension of Slavery to Free Territory have been of Southern birth—incapable of looking upon the Slavery question from the fanatical point of view—CLAY, WIRT, HARRISON, TAYLOR, SCOTT, FREMONT.

Of the exalted officers who have the most controlling influence in directing the affairs of

the legal and administrative policy of the Government, the comparison of the natives of the North and those of the South is equally striking:

	Free.	Slave.
Presidents .....	3	9
Attorneys General.....	5	14
Judges Supreme Court.....	11	17
Presidents of Senate <i>pro tem.</i> .....	16	61
Speakers of the House.....	11	21
Total.....	46	122

And this while by the Census Report the white males over 21 years of age was in 1852 :

Free States.....	3,644,341
Slave States.....	1,452,973

Difference.....2,191,365

And when we look at the rights guaranteed to all the citizens *of* the Constitution, how much greater still is the practical inequality!

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States."

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

"The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated." (Vide the Constitution *passim*.)

The booksellers and publishers, and printers and editors, a numerous, valuable, and peaceable class of our citizens—what sort of privileges and immunities would they enjoy if they should remove to the Slave States with their stock of books, their printing-presses, and their newspapers, and their freedom of speech and the press? And so of clergymen, and lecturers, and professors and teachers—nothing could save them from tar and feathers, and ignominious assassination, but hurried flight by night. The right freely to discuss the conduct and purposes of our rulers, and to vote for those we prefer—what an inestimable right of the American people!—but what friend of Freedom dare to do it now, unarmed and unguarded in the land of Slavery? Congress is the supreme power in the Territories—all legislation in the Territories is immediately or immediately from Congress. Kansas is still under the legislative powers of the Union. How many citizens seeking new homes there have been murdered and scalped even by Pro-Slavery ruffians! How many burning dwellings have lighted up the few clearings in the wilderness! How many printing offices and presses have been destroyed! How many stands of arms have been wrested from citizens in a new country, infested by wild beasts and bloody men!

What bloody laws have been enacted to subject the citizen to fine, imprisonment, and ignominious death, for having a book, circulating a newspaper, expressing an opinion unfriendly to the extension of Slavery to Kansas, and even for not taking oaths to sustain such atrocious legislation!—and when the people have peaceably assembled with a view to redress their grievances, in the same manner in which orga-

nic legislation is always performed in this country, these friends of the People have been arrested and kept in prison, to be tried for the pretended offence of treason—and the Army of the United States, under the so-called flag of Freedom, by orders of a Pro-Slavery President, has marched to the Legislative Hall, and dispersed by force the representatives of the People, whose only alleged offence was that they sought to establish free institutions.

Is this the Union in which we entered in 1788, "to establish justice, and to secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity?" Is this a just and equal partnership? Are we of the North free in such a state of things? Col. FREMONT, the pride and the honor of his country and the world, is he free, when he is deprived of the right of being voted for, in many of the States?

But some of our Southern fellow-citizens insist that, by prohibiting the extension of Slavery to the Free Territories, it would prevent their going there, and deny them their share in those Territories. It is not possible that there should be a more transparent fallacy. We do not prevent their going there—we do not object to their going there. They are all welcome there—they can buy land there, and reside there. In every particular they are equal there to the citizens of the North. There is no distinction in law, or in fact, there, between the North and the South. If Slavery shall be prohibited there, then neither Northern nor Southern men can keep slaves there. The laws of the United States have for years provided that no person shall take ardent spirits into the Indian country, and that it shall be lawful for any person to take and destroy any ardent spirits or wine found in the Indian country,—(4 Stat. 732, Sec. 20,) and that no person shall set up or continue any distillery in the Indian country, under a penalty of \$1,000, and that it shall be the duty of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs forthwith to destroy and break up the same.—(*Ibid. Sec. 21.*)

By another law the importation of all indecent and obscene prints, lithographs, paintings, engravings, &c., are prohibited. If imported they shall be seized and forfeited, "and the said articles shall be forthwith destroyed." (5 do., 566, § 28.) What now if the dealers in ardent spirits, and the distillers, and the dealers in indecent prints and pictures should determine to dissolve the Union—to march to Washington and take possession of the archives of the Government and the Treasury, because of these laws which prevent them from taking their property to the territories!! The Northern and the Southern man are on equal terms in all these respects. The latitude or the point of the compass is nothing; whoever comes there with his forbidden property will lose it. His slaves will be free, his pictures and prints will be destroyed, his rum will be poured out upon the ground, and his distillery burnt down. This property claim, this slave in the territory claim, is hollow and unreal. The claim is not to take property

there, but to take laws there which the Congress or the territory have never enacted. The claim is that a single Carolinian or Virginian slaveholder shall, by the laws of his own State, a thousand miles from that State, have the privilege of importing and planting and spreading in the territory a poison by the side of which indecent prints and maddening drink are blessings. Is there anything so demoralizing as Slavery—anything so inconsistent with moral health—so dangerous to the peace of a community—so hostile to the freedom, equality and mutuality of American Institutions?

Where Slavery exists and produces its proper fruits can an American citizen receive through the public mails such mail matter as he pleases—can he read such books as he pleases—can he have such a library as he pleases—can he hear such preachers as he pleases—can he peaceably express such opinions as he pleases—can he openly belong to such political party as he pleases? Not at all—not one of them; because of the terrible dreams that shake the slaveholder nightly—because the whole people sleep in fear lest the words of Freedom for which our fathers bled, and on which our country rests, shall reach the ears of the slaves that cook their food, that kindle their fires and till their fields, and are ignorant and brutal, impulsive and revengeful.

Compare the average value of the land in the Free States and the Slave States, as given by the census, and we shall see if, as a property institution, it should be extended to the virgin soil of the Territories.

	Average value per acre.
New-England.....	\$20 27
Middle States.....	23 07
Southern States.....	5 34
Southwestern States, without Texas and California.....	6 26

What a difference!

Shall a few slaveholders be permitted thus to destroy the value of every man's land in the Territories?

The glory and the strength of the nation are everything to American citizens. We must bear the blight which Slavery has put upon the present Slave States. We can well say that, as it now exists, it is not our fault—a disease of our Colonial life, so incorporated into the States where it exists that it cannot be eradicated; but how shall we apologize to the outraged moral sense of the whole Christian world if we deliberately inoculate all our new States, and through them the whole nation, with the loathsome disease, and make the American Union a curse and a disgrace to liberty throughout the world!

American citizens hold a peculiar relation to the questions connected with human liberty. For two hundred years Divine Providence seems to have given that precious deposit in some sort to us. Through a long course of generations we have been intrusted with it. We have published its great truths to the world of nations—have hazarded our national existence upon it, and we have shed our blood over

and over again to vindicate our opinions and our declarations. No matter how feeble, how poor or how unprepared we have been, we have always buckled on our armor to fight for Liberty. How we struggled up through the difficulties of colonial dependence—how we resisted the first attempt to oppress us, and petitioned, and prayed and forbore through fifteen years of oppressions—how we fought, and united, and fought again, and united more widely and more closely, and then became a united nation of rebels and traitors, and prevailed in an unequal strife, predicted to fail by the voice of all the world beside! Those who would have been hanged have since been canonized. They are saints in the calendar of Freedom throughout the world, and ever since that time we have been a city set on a hill—a beacon light to the oppressed everywhere.

Every American citizen is responsible  
to History,  
to Patriotism,  
to Conscience, and  
to God,

for the exercise of his power and influence in behalf of liberty. The Past points him to his duty, and so does the Present, and above all the Future is dependent upon him. *To History and the Past and the Future*—How a long line of historical glory comes down to us from the dead braves of our early periods of self-sacrifice for Freedom! How we exult as we seem to see on the now unwritten pages of history millions of hardy, industrious, intelligent and free citizens filling that boundless Northwest with the wealth and glory of Freedom, as it now exists wherever under our flag productive industry is respectable! *To Patriotism*—Who would betray this glorious country, and undo all that our fathers did—roll back the wheels of Liberty, and install the fetters and the lash and the ignorance and the brutality of Negro Slavery as the everywhere present American characteristic! Who would give to that great West senility in youth—sterility in such a soil, and negro huts and slave pens in the midst of such a people and such a landscape! *To Conscience and to God*—Ah, there's the rub. What fearful evils to morals and religion must come in with the spread of Slavery and the reopening of the slave-trade in the hands of American activity and enterprise! What defilement and blasphemy of the image of God! What a degradation of free and honest industry, the only agent of modern progress and civilization! What a time when the mason and the carpenter and the blacksmith and the tailor and all the artisans and the farm hands shall be bought and sold like oxen and horses and mules!

When the holy prophet of the Lord, in the ecstasy of his divine inspirations, proclaimed to the indiscriminate future: “*Wo to him that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work,*” he was not announcing a curse to the unfortunate being who was deprived

of his right to wages, and yet compelled to toil. It was not to the victim, condemned to lose his manhood in the qualities of the brute—not to the slave, but to his master, that the voice of retributive justice announced the woe. The master may add field to field—he may grow rich on the uncompensated labor of his slaves—he may meet no resistance to his exactions—no reprisals in those whom he has stripped of everything—he may even demonstrate that their condition is improved by being inhumanized; still, the divine woe to him that useth his neighbor's service without wages may bring sterility to those fields—may send a canker into his wealth—may give his sons fierce and murderous passions—may mingle the dreams of terror with the dreams of guilt, when, in his midnight fancies, trodden humanity shall spring up and look around for vengeance.

But how shall we vote? Principles are important, but without men to assert them they are powerless. Think what the country has some to by electing a man of dough in 1852. Shall we now go back to the man of wax whom we made Vice President in 1848, and accident made President? While in the cool North, how stiff and staunch he was! Under the influences of the warm South, how he softened and yielded and took the shape they gave him—and sent back to the North, how he has stiffened again in his Southern shape! Shall we take him? Or shall we take the man of putty, that cold or warm, in any latitude, and in any hands is as clay in the hands of the potter? Are these the men for this crisis, or do we want a man of firmness and energy, and well-considered and positive opinions?

We are not left to doubt that Col. FREMONT is the man for the time and the place—devoted to Liberty and Union from his boyhood—the inflexible friend of the rights of the States as they now exist—and inflexibly and always opposed to the extension of Slavery to the free Territories. Would you know if he be a real friend of Freedom, and likely to show himself a powerful friend if opportunity be given him, (and the same of his rivals,) you have only to see what the enemies of Freedom and the friends of Slavery extension say of them all. How they curse and revile him—how they fear him—how with one accord they endeavor his future conduct from his known character. They even declare that they will rebel against his very election. On the other hand, how they will allow no one to compete with his rivals. The only question seems to be between those rivals, not which is most the friend of the South—they are alike in that—but which is most likely to defeat Col. FREMONT. He alone is the candidate of Freedom.

It is, however, said that he has no antecedents. But he is a man of most wonderful and consistent antecedents. Before he was nominated his antecedents had made him the most famous and well known living American citizen, with perhaps one or two exceptions. Active and laborious beyond parallel, he has been

equally conspicuous. In 1833—twenty-three years ago—he entered the public service of the United States, and with only occasional intervals has been in that service ever since. He had then an accomplished liberal education of which the history, the politics, the statesmanship and the heroism of ancient and modern nations form a part in which he took an extraordinary interest at that early period, exhibiting and forming his taste for public affairs. He was educated at Charleston, the seat of South Carolina nullification, and was there during the time of its greatest virulence, when the great questions—the Tariff and Free Trade and Protection—State Rights—the strength and value of the Union, and the construction of the Constitution, were discussed by the great men of the nation as they have never been discussed since, and they were by the ablest men South Carolina has ever produced brought to the near decision of insurrection, rebellion and treason in civil war. It was in the midst of such scenes that Col. FREMONT entered the public service with a mind of thorough cultivation, of wonderful capacity and activity. He came in, under General JACKSON, on the side of Freedom, Patriotism, Liberty and Union, and he has never swerved from it. It was quite impossible that he should not feel such an interest in public affairs as to make him forever afterwards a careful observer and student of the nature, character and practical administration and policy of our Government, even if he had retired immediately to private life. But he continued in the service of the Government. He received appointments under General JACKSON in 1833-35 and '36, under Mr. VAN BUREN in 1838, under Mr. TYLER in 1842-45, under Mr. POLK in 1845 and '46, under General TAYLOR in 1848. Having conquered California and been its Governor when the office of Governor embraced all the functions of government, legislative, judicial, and administrative, and under circumstances requiring a knowledge of international law. In December 1849, he was elected a Senator of the United States and was such till March 4th, 1851, a period of about fifteen months, and his entry into the Senate soon demonstrated that the great duties of that office had been the subject of great study and the numerous and important measures that he introduced and advocated, showed the wisdom and breadth of his views.

During a large portion of his life he has been the commander and director, as well as the active leader, of bodies of men of iron wills and heroic bravery, under circumstances of great delicacy, difficulty, and danger, and with unexampled success, demonstrating his great executive ability.

A scholar, man of highly cultivated literary tastes and of profound and various practical science, he commenced as a schoolmaster and professor of mathematics, to support his widowed mother and his sister. Having made a cruise of two and a half years in the Navy, he became a surveyor and engineer, and an ex-

plorer of a Continent. He passed through every grade of military life, from a lieutenant to a commander-in-chief. He was the conqueror and governor of California. Then a Boundary Commissioner, then a Senator of the United States. A traveled man in wildernesses and in courts, he is familiar with the huts of the savage and the palaces of civilization, and every form of life and manners, and his remarkable variety of life and of cultivation have made him a gentleman accessible and acceptable to all classes of persons.

When, with a family on his hands, without wealth and without friends, overcome, but not conquered, by his enemies, he was offered his sword and his rank by the President of the United States, with an implied stain upon his name, and he spurned them both, and preferred to stand alone, in conscious rectitude, nothing but JOHN C. FREMONT, to begin the world anew, there you saw the man. Such are his antecedents. It is impossible that such a man, with such experience, and such ability, and such principles, such energy, and such love of true glory, should not be fit for any civil or military office, no matter how high. But there are antecedents which he has not. It is not possible to believe that he would counsel corrupt bargaining to secure a political elevation. It is impossible to imagine him a trimmer, a time-server, a facile man, to be kneaded, and moulded and used by those who are about him. It is impossible to make him say that he is not JOHN C. FREMONT, but a mere party platform. He has no train of corrupt retainers, who have for a quarter of a century been attached to his interests, and are entitled to his first and highest favors and his bosom confidence. He never bit the hand that led him up to honor. He never betrayed his associates. He never abandoned and betrayed the principles on which he had been elevated. He never betrayed Freedm that he might rise by Slavery. He never sold himself to a bigoted, proscriptive, secret and stealthy political faction, that he might be restored to the place and the power which he could not retain when clothed with the influence and patronage of the whole Government. He never approved and counseled disunion and rebellion if he should be found in the minority, and he has never called the repeal of the Missouri Compromise a boon from the North to the South. He has not these antecedents.

Then, with such a man and such a cause, on such a question, how shall we vote? Listen to the voice from the North and the South, and the East and the West. Is it not the voice of God, saying: "If you desire Freedom, say so—if you prefer Slavery, say so. Be ready with your answer?"

A notorious tyrant is said to have wished that all his people had but one neck, that by one blow he might glut his vengeance. That great figure is here realized. The freedom of that great unsettled territory, and through that of all the Northern States, is centred in Kansas. Her position

and circumstances make her the connecting link. If she be free, all are free; if she be cursed with Slavery, we are all enslaved.

If the cause of Freedom do not triumph at this election, then before the 4th of March next Kansas and Utah will be admitted as Slave States. Utah has her Slave Constitution ready made and is only waiting for her opportunity. The Border-Ruffian Legislature will make a Slave Constitution for Kansas in January, and the incoming Pro-Slavery President will come to Washington in February, with all the officers and power and patronage of the Government in his hands, and in less than one week after he shall say, "you see the Free-Soil movement has failed—return my friends to your old party sympathies—let us forget and forgive, and organize an Administration according to the voice of the people," and there will be no longer any majority for Freedom in the House. A foreign mission—a seat in the Cabinet—a fat pecuniary office judiciously applied, and it is all over—and as Texas was annexed on the 2d day of March, 1845, two days before Mr. POLK was inaugurated, so if a Pro-Slavery President is elected, Kansas and Utah will be admitted as Slave States before he is inaugurated, so that the new Administration may find the Pro-Slavery policy of ATCHISON, PIERCE and DOUGLAS the settled and immovable policy of the country. The neck of Liberty will be cut off.

If Slavery should triumph and sweep over the Northwest, then to have voted against Freedom and for Slavery, what a reflection to

treasure up!—what an inheritance to leave to our descendants! What a place voluntarily to take in history! What a precious memory to one it is to know that in the days of the colonial struggle for Freedom his ancestors were on the side of Liberty! I cherish in my heart of hearts the knowledge that mine were at Long Island and Whiteplains and Harlem, no matter in how humble a station. How much would not the descendants of Tories give now, if they could blot out all memory, all history, all tradition, that their ancestors were arrayed against Liberty! What shall our descendants say of us? We are called upon to express through the sacred and independent voice of the ballot-box our confidential and honest opinion on this question of Freedom in the Territories. We cannot escape the expression of our sovereign will. It is easy by silence or through the secrecy of the ballot to conceal from our fellow-citizens the decision which we make. But from ourselves? No! From conscience? No! We may say openly, we are for Freedom, we may say we are for Americanism, we may say we are for Democracy, we may say we are for Whig principles, but if we neglect to vote, or do not vote right on this occasion, we shall vote against them all—and if Slavery shall prevail by one vote, what a rooted sorrow for ourselves, what a legacy of shame for our children, what a place in history for those whose shame shall be of sufficient importance to be there recorded!

Oct., 1856.

E. C. B.

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